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#### THE

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# AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

ALL labor organizations have been founded on one of two fundamental ideas. First, among the ancient guilds, trades-unions, organizations of professional men, and wherever the members of a single vocation have associated themselves, the underlying idea has been that of the association of men of like employment. The theory that men who think alike should act together has practically formed the basis of all organization,—civil and political as well as industrial and professional. This idea finds its origin in human nature, and belongs to the clannishness of the race. Founded on it, trades-unionism in England has flourished and grown powerful, really constituting one of the great and most important economic factors in the industrial development of England. The tradesunion in this country, while flourishing, has not attained any such magnitude or secured such influence as the like organization of the old country. This results from various causes. The democratic character of our people,

the mobility of labor, and the independence of the mechanic can be cited as among the leading causes of the lack of growth of trades-unionism in America. Yet it has been growing stronger and stronger as the industrial revolution has advanced.

The second idea underlying organization is that which ignores vocation, and seeks to harmonize all individual or separate interests in the interest of the whole. Society itself is founded on this principle; but it has not been applied to labor organizations, to any appreciable extent, until within the past fifty years. Since 1830 there have been two or three attempts in France, and in some other continental countries, to bring all workingmen, whether of one nation or of many, into harmonious association, each member everywhere seeking the good of the many. The principal instance of a labor organization based upon this broad principle was the International Association of Workingmen, popularly known as the "International," organized in London in the autumn of 1864, through the influence of two French delegates, Messrs. Tolain and Fribourg,—the first a chaser in bronze, and the second a decorative engraver,—who, visiting London at the time of the great International Exhibition of 1862, were impressed with the influence of the English labor organiza-The International sought to associate workingmen wherever manufacturing had gained any notable foothold; and the society grew for a while, but never at any time had a membership exceeding one hundred thousand, the best evidence giving the highest membership at fifty thou-The International did not extend to the United States with sufficient force to involve any large number of the workingmen of this country, and it was not until 1870 or 1871 that branches began to be organized here. The part which the International played in the struggles in Paris, in 1871, killed its influence with Americans, and, in fact, practically killed the society itself. It had

a stormy existence, and was wrecked finally by its being taken under the control of the radical socialists of Europe. Yet the International sowed some seed, principally through its broad foundation, and not through its practices.

The second great attempt to organize labor on a broad basis—as broad as society itself, in which all trades should be recognized — was the Noble Order of Knights of Labor of America. This organization was born on Thanksgiving Day, 1869, in the city of Philadelphia, and was the result of the efforts of Uriah S. Stephens, as the leader, and six associates, all garment-cutters. For several years previous to this date, the garment-cutters of Philadelphia had been organized as a trades-union, but had failed to maintain a satisfactory rate of wages in their trade. A feeling of dissatisfaction prevailed, which resulted, in the fall of 1869, in a vote to disband the union. Stephens, foreseeing this result, had quietly prepared the outlines of a plan for an organization embracing "all branches of honorable toil," and based upon education, which, through co-operation and an intelligent use of the ballot, should gradually abolish the present wages system.

Stephens himself was a man of great force of character, a skilled mechanic, with the love of books which enabled him to pursue his studies during his apprenticeship, and feeling withal a strong affection for secret organizations, having been for many years connected with the Masonic order. He was born Aug. 3, 1821, in Cape May County, New Jersey. He was the descendant of some of the oldest settlers of his native county, and came of patriotic stock, his grandfather on his father's side having fallen in one of the battles of the Revolution. The maternal side, also among the earliest settlers of the county, were Quakers, and gave to the family the staid solidity of character and firmness of purpose for which it has always been noted. His parents, who were Baptists, intended him for the ministry, and his education was par-

tially shaped to that end; but, in the great panic and depression which swept over this country from 1836 to 1840. the family suffered reverses, and young Stephens was indentured as an apprentice, to learn a trade and acquire a knowledge of mercantile business. His training as a skilled mechanic furnished the hint that afterward governed him all through his life as a student; and this hint was that, when a subject is to be learned or a purpose to be accomplished, system, method, and competent means must be brought to bear and special training acquired to guide the way to success. At the close of his apprenticeship. Stephens spent some time teaching school in his native State. In 1845, he removed to Philadelphia, where he resided most of the time during his life. In 1853, he made an extended tour of the West Indies. Central America, and Mexico, and up the Pacific Coast to California, where he lived nearly five years, gathering much information and a very rich experience, which were of great utility to him afterward in the reforms in which he took part. In 1858, he endeavored, by public speeches and through the press, by aid of the information which he had gathered during the five years previous, to attract the attention of capital and enterprise to the wealth of tropical and South American countries. In 1878, the National Greenback Labor Party, without solicitation, unanimously nominated him for Congress in the Fifth District of Pennsylvania.

But, although Stephens possessed no strong political aspirations, he had paid great attention to the reforms of the day, and had caught the spirit of the agitation in the United States during the years 1868–69, through a literature which had been caused by the growth of building societies in various centres, and especially at Philadelphia. He saw that corporate life, through which organization works, was the machinery with which organized capital had held labor in what he considered a partially enslaved

condition. Organized manhood, therefore, was his antidote,—a force wherewith to resist and overcome the combinations of greed and selfishness, and the means whereby justice and right, the chief demand of labor, could be secured. With this schooling, Stephens stood out from the old trades-union system of organization, which in his particular case, that of the garment-cutters of Philadelphia, had failed, as we have seen. He believed it was necessary to bring all wage-workers together in one organization, where measures affecting the interests of all could be intelligently discussed and acted upon; and this he held could not be done in a trades-union.

At the last session of the Garment-cutters' Union, and after the motion to disband had prevailed, Stephens invited the few members present to meet him, in order to discuss his new plan of organization. This meeting was held at the house of Mr. Stephens, 2347 Coral Street, Philadelphia, on the evening of Nov. 25, 1869. Stephens then laid before his guests his plan of an organization, which he designated "The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor." It was a new departure in labor organization. The founder described what he considered a tendency toward large combinations of capital, and argued that the trades-union form of organization was like a bundle of sticks when unbound,—weak and powerless to resist combination. The remedies he advocated must come largely through legislation and a process of education on the part of wage-workers first, to fit them properly for the work of organization. To this end, he urged the creation of the Local Assembly as the primary school of Stephens's great controlling ideas may be formulated as follows: first, that surplus labor always keeps wages down; and, second, that nothing can remedy this evil but a purely and deeply secret organization, based upon a plan that shall teach, or rather inculcate, organization, and at the same time educate its membership to one

set of ideas ultimately subversive of the present wages system.

Mr. Stephens's associates, or those who agreed with him to form a secret society to take the place of the disbanded Garment-cutters' Union, were James L. Wright, Robert C. Macauley, Joseph S. Kennedy, William Cook, Robert W. Keen, and James M. Hilsee. At a subsequent meeting, held Dec. 28, 1869, upon the report of a Committee on Ritual, involving obligations and oaths, Mr. Stephens and his six associates subscribed their names to the obligations; and, when the ritual was adopted, Mr. James L. Wright moved that the new Order be named the "Knights of Labor."

Mr. Stephens brought into the ritual of the new Order many of the features of speculative Masonry, especially in the forms and ceremonies observed. The obligations were in the nature of oaths, taken with all solemnity upon the Bible. The members were sworn to the strictest secreey. The name even of the Order was not to be divulged; and it was for a long time referred to in the literature of the Knights of Labor, in their circulars, meetings, reports, and conversation, as "Five Stars," five stars being used in all printing and writing to designate the name of the Order. There were also introduced into the ritual many classical expressions taken from the Greek. The scope of the ritual which was adopted is best understood, so far as its charges and lectures are concerned, by the following instructions as to the objects of the Order and the duty expected of every member as a Knight of Labor. These instructions have been given to every person ever admitted to the Order: -

Labor is noble and holy. To defend it from degradation; to divest it of the evils to body, mind, and estate which ignorance and greed have imposed; to rescue the toiler from the grasp of the selfish,—is a work worthy of the noblest and best of our race. In all the multifarious branches of trade, capital has its combinations; and, whether

intended or not, they crush the manly hopes of labor, and trample poor humanity in the dust. We mean no conflict with legitimate enterprise, no antagonism to necessary capital; but men, in their haste and greed, blinded by self-interests, overlook the interests of others, and sometimes violate the rights of those they deem helpless. We mean to uphold the dignity of labor, to affirm the nobility of all who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. We mean to create a healthy public opinion on the subject of labor (the only creator of values), and the justice of its receiving a full, just share of the values or capital it has created. We shall, with all our strength, support laws made to harmonize the interests of labor and capital, and also those laws which tend to lighten the exhaustiveness of toil. pause in his toil, to devote to his own interests (sic), to gather a knowledge of the world's commerce, to unite, combine, and co-operate in the great army of peace and industry, to nourish and cherish, build and develop, the temple he lives in, is the highest and noblest duty of man to himself, to his fellow-man, and to his Creator.

No details or general laws for the government of the Order appear to have been adopted until the formation of the first Local Assembly in 1873; but the plan presented at the meeting in November, 1869, was heartly approved, and adopted by Stephens's associates. Meetings were held weekly; and on Jan. 13, 1870, the new organization chose its officers to the several positions called for by the ritual, as follows: Venerable Sage, Past-officer, James L. Wright; Master Workman, U. S. Stephens; Worthy Foreman, Robert W. Keen; Worthy Inspector, William Cook; Unknown Knight, Joseph Kennedy. The office of Statistician was created February 3, and the position filled by the election of Robert C. Macauley.

The ritual of the Order, as worked by this first association, which afterward became Local Assembly No. 1, Knights of Labor, was neither printed nor written; and it is probable that a copy is not now in existence in the form in which it was used in the early days of the Order. As already stated, it demanded that the utmost secrecy should be forever observed. The instructions under it, or the rules of government under it, excluded physicians from

the Order, because professional confidence might force the societies' secrets into unfriendly ears. The rule prohibiting the admission of physicians, however, was repealed at Detroit in 1881. Politicians were to be excluded, because the founders of the Order considered that their moral character was on too low a plane for the sacred work of the new Order; and, besides, it was considered that professional politicians would not keep the secrets of the Order, if such secrets could be used for their own advan-Men engaged in political work are not now excluded for that cause alone. Lawyers were to be excluded, and still are, because the founders considered that the logical, if not the practical, career of the lawyer is to get money by his aptitudes and cunning, which, if used to the advantage of one, must be at the expense of another, the lawver himself existing in a legalized atmosphere which recognizes forms and precedents, and which unfits him for the peculiar work of the Order; and, further, that he gains his livelihood by efforts not classified with the honest product of labor. Rumsellers were and are excluded, because the trade is not only useless, by being non-productive of articles of use, but results in great suffering and immorality, causing workingmen more trouble than many or most of the other miseries of which they complain, and because the rumseller renders no equivalent whatever for money The founders also considered that those who sell or otherwise handle liquors should be excluded, because such persons would be a defilement to the Order.

In consequence of the close secrecy thrown around the new organization, it did not grow rapidly. Stephens, impressed with the Masonic ritual and that of the Odd Fellows, was unwilling to allow any change; while many members, who did not particularly oppose the secrecy of the Order, thought that the workingman, as a rule, could not be brought to appreciate the classical character of the ritual. So the society struggled on, admitting now and

then a member, its affairs running smoothly, as a whole, but the name of the organization never divulged. The ritual was gradually extended, but for a long time not completed. By the First Quarterly Report of the Order, it is shown that it had a membership of twenty-eight.

In May, 1870, the garment-cutters of Philadelphia inaugurated public meetings for the purpose of increasing the membership of the new association, questions of interest to the trade being discussed, but no allusion being made to the new Order. The results, however, were beneficial; for the Second Quarterly Report exhibits a membership of forty-three, and an increase of nine is shown by the Third Quarterly Report, the finances being in good condition. January 5, 1871, the First Annual Report showed a membership of sixty-nine in good standing. During this year, Mr. Stephens and others carried on a considerable correspondence with the nail-cutters and coal-miners of Pennsylvania, with a view to increasing the influence of the Order by extending its membership outside of Philadelphia. In January, 1872, Mr. Stephens declined the nomination for a third term as Master Workman, and was succeeded by Robert C. Macaulev.

Accounts differ as to the time when the first Local Assembly of the Knights of Labor was organized. The best evidence, however, that I have been able to gain designates it as early in 1873 in Philadelphia; and it consisted of Mr. Stephens and his associates, who had struggled along in the initiative association from its inception in November, 1869. All attempts up to this time at organization outside of the original body had been unsuccessful. During 1872, what should now be called Local Assembly No. 1,—the original body,—although comprised of skilled garment-cutters, had initiated a few plumbers, paper-hangers, and painters, with a view to their working for organization in their respective crafts. They were not called upon to pay dues; nor were they

allowed to vote, being called "sojourners." The second Local Assembly to be organized, being the first outside of the original body, consisted of ship-carpenters and calkers employed in Cramp's shipyard. This was soon after the complete organization of Local Assembly No. 1, and became Local Assembly No. 2. After this, the Order spread quite rapidly; and twenty assemblies were organized in Philadelphia during 1873, No. 3 being shawlweavers; No. 4, carpet-weavers; No. 5, riggers; No. 6, carpet-weavers; No. 7, stone-masons; No. 8, bag-makers; No. 9, machinists and blacksmiths; No. 10, stone-cutters; No. 11, wool-sorters; No. 12, machinists and blacksmiths; No. 13, tin-plate and sheet-iron workers; No. 14, steelmakers; No. 15, pattern-makers and moulders; No. 16, shopsmiths; No. 17, machinists, blacksmiths, and boilermakers; No. 18, house-carpenters, ship-joiners, millwrights, and cabinet-makers; No. 19, bricklayers; No. 20, gold-beaters. The first twenty-seven Local Assemblies of the Order were all organized in the city of Philadelphia, No. 28, composed of gold-beaters in New York City, being the first Local Assembly to be organized outside of Philadelphia. Previous to January, 1875, fiftytwo Locals had been organized in Philadelphia, and about two hundred and fifty in other parts of the country, principally in the mining regions of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Indiana, and Illinois.

As already stated, the ritual being unwritten, and existing only in the memory of the officers of Local Assembly No. 1, when new Locals were founded, the officers of Assembly No. 1 were obliged to fill the positions until the ritual could be learned from word of mouth by the officers of the new assemblies. This tedious method of communicating the ritualistic work necessitated some more complete organization; and, to meet this necessity, the committee on the ritual of the original Assembly was extended so as to comprise a Committee on the Good

of the Order, to answer for all matters relating to the ritual. To it, also, were committed all matters of dispute arising in the Local Assemblies. This Committee on the Good of the Order very naturally constituted a board of appeal, and performed all the functions of a District Assembly, and thus became practically the first District Assembly in the Order. The work of the committee, however, becoming very severe, it projected a ritual for a higher body, to be known as a District Assembly. With the growth of the Order and the extension of the number of Local Assemblies, the proposition of the Committee on the Good of the Order of Local Assembly No. 1 began to be thoroughly appreciated. Local Assembly No. 1, therefore, sent calls to all the Assemblies then in existence, requesting them to choose delegates for the purpose of founding a District Assembly, to consist of delegates from all the Local Assemblies. These delegates met in Philadelphia on Christmas Day, 1873, and organized District Assembly No. 1; and, upon this organization, the committee of Local Assembly No. 1 surrendered all its general powers to the District Assembly.\*

Many Local Assemblies, as already stated, had been organized in Philadelphia at the time of the foundation of District Assembly No. 1, besides those created outside of the city. It is worthy of note, therefore, that the Local Assemblies sending delegates upon the call of the original assembly to constitute a District Assembly comprised but few of the Locals already organized in the city. They were as follows: garment-cutters, No. 1; blacksmiths and boiler-makers, No. 17; carpet-weavers, No. 23; ship-carpenters and calkers of Camden, No. 31; cigar-

<sup>\*</sup>There being no assembly above the District Assembly, no charters, of course, could be given to District Assemblies; but when, in August, 1878, the General Assembly was organized, a charter, antedated to Christmas Day, 1873, was issued for District Assembly No. 1, organized as above stated. This was done that the doings of the original District Assembly prior to the institution of the General Assembly might be legalized.

makers, No. 53; shoemakers, No. 64; stove-makers, No. 116; bolt-makers, No. 131; train-hands, No. 260; and another assembly, No. 262.

The membership of the Order continued to increase during the years following the organization of District Assembly No. 1, so that the following District Assemblies had been created substantially in the same manner as had been District Assembly No. 1, by voluntary delegations from surrounding Local Assemblies: In New Jersey, District Assembly No. 2; in Pittsburgh, No. 3; in Reading, No. 4; in Charleston, West Virginia, No. 5; in Akron, Ohio, No. 7; in Pittsburgh, No. 8; in West Elizabeth, No. 9; and, in various places, other District Assemblies had been created, so that the total number was about sixteen. But District Assembly No. 1 had, through the acquiescence of all concerned, been considered the head of authority.

Late in 1877, the officers of District Assembly No. 1, following the example of its parent, Local Assembly No. 1, sent an invitation to all District Assemblies then in existence to choose delegates for the organization of a General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, the proposition being that, should such a General Assembly be organized, it should have a constitution and be governed by salaried officers. These delegates met at Reading, Pennsylvania, January 1, 1878, and organized the first General Assembly. Mr. Stephens, the founder, was called to the chair, pending permanent organization. The delegates were in session four days, the following officers being chosen: Grand Master Workman, Uriah S. Stephens, of Philadelphia; Grand Worthy Foreman, Ralph Beaumont, of Elmira, New York; Grand Secretary, Charles H. Litchman, of Marblehead, Massachusetts; Grand Assistant Secretary, John G. Laning, of Clifton, West Virginia; Grand Treasurer, Thomas M. Gallagher, of St. Louis, Missouri.

Seven States were represented in this first General

Assembly; and the garment-cutters, miners, shoemakers, machinists, locomotive engineers, stationary engineers, glass-workers, moulders, printers, coopers, blacksmiths, boiler-makers, nail-packers, teachers, and carpenters were the bodies represented. District Assembly No. 16, of Scranton,\* Pennsylvania, was represented by Terrence V. Powderly.

This brings the history of the Order to one of its most critical periods. At the date of the formation of the General Assembly, only nine of the fifty-two Locals previously organized in Philadelphia were working. All the others had lapsed, although they have been reorganized since. Only eleven District Assemblies were working at the date of the formation of this first General Assembly. Mr. Stephens, the founder, was the first Master Workman of Local Assembly No. 1, first District Master Workman of District Assembly No. 1, and first Grand Master Workman of the General Assembly. The order was now in complete working condition, organized on the basis of all governments,—the Local Assembly, or primary formation, like towns, communes, and townships; the District Assembly, comprising so many Locals, following the State and county organizations; and the General Assembly being the grand federal head of all. And yet at this time, in January, 1878, when the whole machinery of the organization was perfected so far as bodies were concerned, there had been no general declaration of principles. The Order had been intensely secret, as much so as the society of the Masons or of the Odd Fellows. name of the Order began to be whispered about; but, beyond the name and most exaggerated accounts of the membership, nothing was known of the Knights of Labor. The membership must have been small,—indeed, not

<sup>\*</sup>The District Assembly organized in West Virginia and the District Assembly organized at Scranton, Pennsylvania, were, through some mistake, both numbered 5. After the formation of the General Assembly, the District at Scranton was assigned No. 16.

counting far into the thousands. In fact, it did not reach fifty thousand until five years later, although, at the organization of the first General Assembly, rumor placed the membership at eighty thousand. This may have come from the fact that, about this time, the strict secrecy in the workings of the Order, and the fact that the obligations were oaths taken on the Bible, brought on a conflict with the Catholic Church, and during the years 1877-78 many Local and several District Assemblies lapsed. emergency, which threatened the existence of the Order, necessitated a special session of the General Assembly, which was held at Philadelphia in June, 1878. At this session, resolutions to make the name of the Order public, to expunge from the ritual all Scriptural passages and quotations, and to modify the initiatory exercises so as to remove the opposition coming from the Church, were submitted to the vote of the Locals and the Districts of the country. Through the influence of these resolutions, measures were adopted whereby a satisfactory conciliation was brought about, on the general ground that the labor movement could consistently take no interest in the advocacy of any kind of religion, nor assume any position for or against creeds. The prejudices against the Knights of Labor on account of Catholic opposition then naturally, but gradually, disappeared; and the Order took on new strength, until there were in 1879 twenty-three District Assemblies and about thirteen hundred Local Assemblies in the United States. Prior to this emergency, much attention had been paid to what is known in secret societies as degree work; and the system of graduation from office to office took regular form, and was carried out, as in the older secret institutions. degree work, however, is not now known in the Order, there being no degrees in the sense of secret organizations.

The second annual session of the General Assembly was held at St. Louis, January 14, 1879. The business trans-

acted at this session related to general legislation for perfecting the organization. It was also decided that the sessions of the General Assembly thereafter should be held in September of each year. This session granted to the District Assemblies the privilege of announcing to the public the name of the Order, requiring a two-thirds vote, however, of the delegates constituting the District Assembly passing upon the matter. Mr. Stephens was re-elected Grand Master Workman, Mr. Litchman being retained as Grand Secretary; while James McGinness, of Kentucky, was chosen Grand Assistant Secretary, and William H. Singer, of Missouri, took the place of Grand Treasurer.

The third annual session of the General Assembly was held at Chicago, in September, 1879, when the federal body busied itself with general legislation, and was called upon to consider the resignation of Mr. Stephens as Master Workman. This resignation, urgently pressed by Mr. Stephens, was accepted; and Hon. Terrence V. Powderly\* was elected Grand Master Workman in his place.

\*Terrence V. Powderly was born in Carbondale, Luzerne County, Penn., Jan. 22, 1849, his parents being among the first settlers of that city. They were Irish, and he was one of nine children. He attended school six years, and, when thirteen years old, went to work as switch-tender for the Hudson & Delaware Canal Company. When seventeen years of age, he went into the machine-shop of the company, learning the trade of a machinist, and proving himself an intelligent, expert, and faithful workman. At nineteen, he removed to Scranton, where he secured a situation in the machine-shops of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company. Shortly after coming to Scranton, Mr. Powderly became a member of the Machinists and Blacksmiths' Union No. 2, the members of which, soon recognizing his abilities, elected him president, which position he held for two years, after which he was elected corresponding secretary, in which capacity he served, with the exception of one year, until 1880. During the panic of 1873, he, among others, was suspended from the employment of the railroad company for the supposed reason of his active connection with the Machinists and Blacksmiths' Union. He then removed to Galion, Ohio, where he worked but a short time, when he was again discharged. Mr. Powderly then obtained employment in Oil City, joining Machinists and Blacksmiths' Union No. 6, of that place, by which he was elected a delegate to a district convention of the unions of Pittsburgh, Meadville, Titusville, and Oil City, the convention being held at Franklin.

Richard Griffiths, of Illinois, was chosen Grand Worthy Foreman; and Mr. Litchman re-elected as Grand Secretary, the Grand Assistant Secretary being Gilbert Rockwood, of Boston, and the Grand Treasurer Dominick Hammer, of Ohio. At the time of the meeting of this session, the reports showed that seven hundred Local Assemblies had been chartered. The Assembly represented, however, but one hundred and two. The membership was stated to be five thousand in good standing; but the routine of the Order had not been perfected, and the reports of membership were very imperfect. It is therefore reasonable to assume that a much larger membership existed than was shown by the reports.

The next annual meeting of the General Assembly (the fourth) took place at Pittsburgh, in September, 1880, and consisted of forty delegates. At this session, strikes were denounced as injurious, and as not worthy of support, except in extreme cases. No important special legislation other than this, however, was enacted; but the machinery

He was again elected a delegate to represent the same unions at Louisville, where the convention of the Machinists and Blacksmiths' International Union was held in September, 1874. Soon after this, he became a member of the Industrial Brotherhood of the United States, and was commissioned deputy president for Western Pennsylvania. While acting in this capacity, he organized several Assemblies of the Industrial Brotherhood in the vicinity of Pittsburgh. Returning then to Scranton, he was employed by the Lackawanna Coal and Iron Company in putting up the machinery of their steel works. During the same year, Mr. Powderly joined the Knights of Labor; and, shortly after his connection with that Order, was elected secretary of the District Assembly to which his Local Assembly belonged. After leaving the Lackawanna Coal and Iron Company, he was engaged by the Dickson Manufacturing Company in their Cliff Locomotive Works, and, soon after entering their employment, was promoted to the foremanship of one of the departments. Becoming interested in the Greenback-Labor Party, he took an active part in the campaign for Luzerne County, calling the County Convention. He travelled on foot from one end of the county to the other, distributing ballots and documents calculated to encourage the workers. The county of Luzerne is seventy-five miles in length; yet Powderly acted as secretary and chairman of the committee, doing his work on foot, having no money with which to pay railroad fare. During this campaign, he contracted a severe cold, from which he has never fully recovered. His eyesight also failed from over-exertion. As a recognition of his services, he secured the Greenback-Labor nomination for for the work of the Order was further perfected, and Grand Master Workman Powderly was re-elected.

The fifth session was held in September, 1881, at Detroit. This session had to deal with one of the most important actions in the history of the Order. The General Assembly then declared that on and after January 1, 1882, the name and objects of the Order should be made public. It also declared that women should be admitted upon an equal footing with men. A strong committee was appointed to revise the constitution and the ritual, and instructed to report at the next annual session. co-operative law was passed (originally made compulsory. but changed to voluntary payment at the New York session the next year). A benefit insurance law was also passed, and an entire change of the ritual was advised. This action was brought about because the Order did not grow in numbers; and, from all quarters, the desire was expressed to make the name and principles of the Order public. In fact, many of the District Assemblies had

mayor of Scranton in 1877, and was elected by a majority of five hundred and thirty-one. He was re-elected in 1878, in which year he was nominated by acclamation for lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania on the National Greenback-Labor ticket, but declined the nomination. He was a third time offered the nomination for mayor of Scranton, with every prospect of re-election; but, being now General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, he found the duties of the latter position too arduous to admit of his holding any other office, and so declined. In 1878, Mr. Powderly gave considerable attention to the study of the law, and while mayor of Scranton obtained a very good legal training and habit. Since his induction into the Order of the Knights of Labor, Mr. Powderly has given it his entire attention and a vast amount of study. He found it a close, oath-bound body; but at the Detroit General Assembly, in 1881, he urged the abolition of oaths and the removal of the obligation of secrecy. This did away the chief objection which the Catholic clergy had made to it, and strengthened the Order among the workingmen.

The resignation of Mr. Stephens at the Chicago session of the General Assembly, in 1879, was for reasons entirely honorable to Mr. Stephens and perfectly legitimate, although, in some degree, the change in the head of the Order was due to the fact that Mr. Stephens was a thorough believer in the policy of maintaining its secrecy, while Mr. Powderly advocated the necessity of publicity. The memory of Mr. Stephens is held sacred by all Knights of Labor, and the Richmond convention appropriated \$10,000 for the erection of a home for his family.

been working openly. Mr. Powderly was re-elected Grand Master Workman.

The sixth annual assembly was held in New York in September, 1882, the chief business consisting in the discussion, and finally in the adoption, of a revised constitution and ritual. At this Assembly, what is known as the "strike" element—that is, the supporters and believers in strikes—was in the majority, and laws and regulations for supporting strikes were adopted; and the co-operative law of the Order. Mr. Powderly was re-elected Grand Master Workman. The Order now began to be known, and many exaggerated accounts found their way into the press. These exaggerated accounts caused the Order to grow rapidly, General Master Workman Powderly stating at this convention that

One cause for the tidal wave of strikes that has swept over our Order comes from the exaggerated reports of the strength of the Order, numerically and financially, given by many of our organizers. Such a course may lead men into the Order, but by a path that leads them out again; for, as soon as they become convinced that they were deceived, they lose confidence in the Order.

In February, 1882, Past Master Workman Stephens died at Philadelphia.

The seventh annual session of the General Assembly was held at Cincinnati in September, 1883, and consisted of one hundred and ten representative delegates. This session lasted for eight days. This large representation was owing to the rapid growth of the Order since the name and objects had been made public. The legislation at this session was not particularly important, although the discussions were so. The strike element was less fully represented than before. The laws were amended both by changes and additions, and members were instructed to discuss in their District and Local Assemblies the eight-hour question and the institution of Bureaus of

Labor Statistics. At this meeting, the title of the officers of the General Assembly was changed from "Grand" to "General." The membership of the Order was reported at this Assembly to be, in round numbers, fifty-two thousand.

In September, 1884, the eighth annual Assembly convened at Philadelphia. Strikes and boycotts were denounced, the declaration of principles was revised and improved, and the constitution and general legislation amended. The date of the meeting of the General Assembly was changed to October. The membership of the Order was reported at seventy-one thousand.

The ninth General Assembly convened at Hamilton. Ontario, in October, 1885, and adopted legislation looking to the prevention of strikes and boycotts. The session lasted eight days, the membership being reported at one hundred and eleven thousand. In this year, also, a special session was held in Cleveland, Ohio, in May, for the purpose of taking action looking to the protection of the Order against unauthorized strikes and boycotts by District and Local Assemblies. This session lasted from May 25 to June 3. Long discussions relative to the attitude of trades-unions consumed much time. The two ideas on which labor organizations are founded, as stated in the beginning of this sketch, were brought into sharply defined antagonism, the trades-unions struggling to preserve their trade organizations as against what was considered the encroachment of the Knights of Labor, while the Knights of Labor contended that their Order embraced higher and grander principles than those underlying the organization of trades-unions.

The tenth annual session of the General Assembly was held at Richmond, Virginia, in October, 1886. Not much important legislation was added to the laws of the Order, and the constitution was in no way changed. Mr. Powderly was re-elected General Master Workman, as he had

been annually since his elevation to that office. From a source entirely trustworthy, I am able to state that at the time of the meeting of the Richmond Assembly there were about one hundred and sixty District Assemblies and nearly nine thousand Local Assemblies; while the membership was, in round numbers, seven hundred and thirty thousand. The growth from the number reported in July, 1885,—one hundred and eleven thousand, in round numbers,—to the next annual meeting, it is seen, was very rapid. No trade organization anywhere can show such Mr. Powderly, in his testimony bewonderful increase. fore the Strike Investigating Committee of Congress, April 21, 1886, made the following statement as to membership: "Our present membership does not exceed five hundred thousand, although we have been credited with five million." This statement indicates a growth of nearly four hundred thousand in one year. The growth was so rapid that the Executive Board of the Order felt constrained to call a halt in the initiation of new members. (December 10, 1886), while the membership has fallen off in some localities, from various causes, in the whole country it has increased, and is, according to the best inside estimates, not much less than one million. The Order occupies nearly every State with its Local and District Assemblies.

I have thus sketched the origin and growth of the Order. This is its material history, rapidly drawn. Its intellectual history is of far more importance to the public, and is to be found in the declaration of principles, the constitution, and the legislation of the Knights of Labor. Prior to 1878, no declaration of principles had been made. The unwritten law of the Order was observed, the membership was small, and Local and District Assemblies few. The officers initiating members or installing officers could easily impart the precepts and the principles of the unwritten law of the Order; but, as it grew in numbers and

its influence extended over vast areas, written laws and written declarations became not only essential for the well-being of the Order, but a necessity for its working. Prior to the abandonment of the secrecy of the workings of the Order in 1881, when the oath-bound obligations were abolished and the simple pledge took its place, a declaration of principles had been adopted. This declaration, adopted at the meeting of the General Assembly at Reading in January, 1878, embodied the first fifteen of the articles printed below. Other articles have been adopted from time to time, so that the Knights of Labor now stand upon the following

#### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The alarming development and aggressiveness of great capitalists and corporations, unless checked, will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses.

It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that a check be put upon unjust accumulation, and the power for evil of aggregated wealth.

This much desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

Therefore, we have formed the Order of Knights of Labor, for the purpose of organizing and directing the power of the industrial masses, not as a political party, for it is more,—in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes only such candidates as will pledge their support to those measures, regardless of party. But no one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority; and, calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good for the greatest number" to join and assist us, we declare to the world that our aims are:—

- I. To make industrial moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.
- II. To secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create, sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties, all of the benefits, recreation, and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honors of advancing civilization.

In order to secure these results, we demand at the hands of the State:—

- III. The establishment of Bureaus of Labor Statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral, and financial condition of the laboring masses.
- IV. That the public land, the heritage of the people, be reserved for actual settlers, not another acre for railroads or speculators; and that all lands now held for speculative purposes be taxed to their full value.
- V. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capital and labor, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays, and discriminations in the administration of justice.
- VI. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.
- VII. The recognition by incorporation of trades-unions, orders, and such other associations as may be organized by the working masses to improve their condition and protect their rights.
- VIII. The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employees weekly in lawful money for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the full extent of their wages.
- IX. The abolition of the contract system on national, State, and municipal works.
- X. The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators.
- XI. The prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age in workshops, mines, and factories.
  - XII. To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.
  - XIII. That a graduated income tax be levied.

And we demand at the hands of Congress: -

- XIV. The establishment of a national monetary system, in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue direct to the people, without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the government shall not guarantee or recognize private banks or create any banking corporations.
- XV. That interest-bearing bonds, bills of credit, or notes shall never be issued by the government; but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal-tender, non-interest-bearing money.

XVI. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

XVII. That, in connection with the post-office, the government shall organize financial exchanges, safe deposits, and facilities for deposit of the savings of the people in small sums.

XVIII. That the government shall obtain possession, by purchase, under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones, and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers, or freight.

And, while making the foregoing demands upon the State and national government, we will endeavor to associate our own labors:—

XIX. To establish a co-operative institution, such as will tend to supersede the wage system, by the introduction of a co-operative system.

XX. To secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work.

XXI. To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours.

XXII. To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened, and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

With numerical success came the necessity for constitutional regulations. The General Assembly which met at Reading, January 1, 1878, largely through the influence of Mr. Powderly adopted a constitution for the General Assembly, for District Assemblies, and for Local Assem-This has been subject to revision, however, at blies. every General Assembly since, except the Richmond Assembly in 1886. The constitution adopted for Local Assemblies — they constituting the primary organizations of the Order - contains a preamble, declaring substantially that the Local Assembly is not a mere trades-union or beneficial society, but that it is more and higher, gathering into one fold all branches of honorable toil, without regard to nationality, sex, creed, or color, not founded simply to protect one interest or to discharge one duty, however great the one interest or the one duty may be. It declares that the Local Assembly seeks not only to maintain and foster all the fraternal characteristics of the single trades-union, but by the multiplied power of the union to protect and assist all. It further declares:—

The Local Assembly aims to assist members to better their condition, morally, socially, and financially. It is a business firm, every member an equal partner, as much so as a commercial house or a manufacturing establishment. All members are in duty bound to put in their equal share of time and money. The officers elected must not be expected to "run it," and the rest of the partners do nothing, as in the case of mere societies. While acknowledging that it is sometimes necessary to enjoin an oppressor, yet strikes should be avoided whenever possible. Strikes, at best, only afford temporary relief; and members should be educated to depend upon thorough organization, co-operation, and political action, and, through these, the abolishment of the wage system. Our mission cannot be accomplished in a day or generation. Agitation, education, and organization are all necessary. Among the higher duties that should be taught in every Local Assembly are man's inalienable inheritance and right to a share, for use, of the soil; and that the right to life carries with it the right to the means of living; and that all statutes that obstruct or deny these rights are wrong, unjust, and must give way. Every member who has the right to vote is a part of the government in the country, and has a duty to perform; and the proper education necessary to intelligently exercise this right, free from corrupting influences, is another of the higher duties of a Local Assembly. In short, any action that will advance the cause of humanity, lighten the burden of toil, or elevate the moral and social condition of mankind, whether incorporated in the constitution or not, is the proper scope and field of operation of a Local Assembly.

The usual constitution of the Local Assembly consists of thirteen articles, and is very much like the constitutions of all organizations, except it is more elaborate.

Article I. provides that a Local Assembly of the Order of the Knights of Labor shall be known by a name and the number assigned by the General Secretary-Treasurer, and shall be composed of not less than ten members, at least three-fourths of whom must be wage-workers or farmers, which proportion is to be maintained for all time. The same article excludes from membership all persons who

sell, or who make a living or any part of it by the sale of, intoxicating drink, either as manufacturer or dealer or agent, or through any member of the family. It also excludes lawyers, bankers, professional gamblers, and stockbrokers. The details relating to methods of securing membership are given very fully, but have no particular public value.

Article II. relates to travelling and transfer cards and means for severing membership with a Local Assembly for the purpose of joining some other, and kindred regulations.

Article III. relates to dues and assessments.

Article IV. designates the officers and defines their duties. The officers of a Local Assembly consist of a Master Workman, Worthy Foreman, Venerable Sage, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Worthy Inspector, Almoner, Statistician, Unknown Knight, Inside Esquire, Outside Esquire, and Insurance Solicitor, and three Trustees, who shall be custodians of all property and funds of the Local Assembly. These officers, with the exception of the Venerable Sage, are elected semi-annually by ballot, or by acclamation, should there be but one candidate.

The remainder of the articles relate to suspended members, Local Courts for the trial of grievances, misdemeanors, and violations of the laws of the Order, and the minor duties of the Assembly.

The constitution for District Assemblies consists of ten articles. Article I. provides that a District Assembly shall be composed of duly accredited delegates from at least five Local Assemblies, each Local being entitled to at least one delegate to the District Assembly; but the representation may be fixed by the District Assembly to suit its interests. A District Assembly is the highest tribunal of the Order of the Knights of Labor within its jurisdiction, under the general laws of the Order. It has power to

levy assessments for its maintenance upon all Locals composing the District Assembly and adopt rules and regulations for the government of trade and local affairs. It has power to establish Local Assemblies in the territory governed by it.

Article II. provides for the election and certification of delegates from the Local Assemblies, and regulates their attendance.

The officers and their duties are designated under Article III., the officers being similar to those of the Local Assembly in name, except the word "District" is placed before the title, as "District Master Workman," and the like; the officers constituting a Committee of Superintendence for their District, to which reference is made as to authority and modes of working, for instructions and advice.

Article IV. provides for District Courts, to be chosen annually at each District Assembly, the duty of such a court being to review and determine all cases appealed from the court of a Local Assembly; and there is a right of appeal from the decision of such District Court to the General Assembly. This article also provides for the discipline of the Order and for the government of members.

Articles V. and VI. relate to matters of detail which need not be stated.

Article VII. has more interest for the public, and is of more vital importance than any other. It relates to strikes and arbitration, and in full is as follows:—

Section 1. District Assemblies may adopt such rules and regulations in regard to strikes as they deem best, but no strike shall be entered into or authorized until every possible effort has been made to settle the difficulty by arbitration. Thorough organization is essential for successful arbitration; and, where arbitration fails, strikes, as a rule, are failures. The first duty, therefore, of Locals and Districts, is to perfect the organization of our Order.

Section 2. An Executive Board shall be established in each District Assembly, who shall have power to accept or reject the terms

offered by the employers in any contemplated strike or lock-out affecting the District Assembly or any of its Locals, subject to such laws as the District Assembly may have adopted.

Articles VIII., IX, and X. relate to routine business.

The constitution of the General Assembly is rather an imposing document. It consists of twenty articles, but reference need be made only to those of importance to the public.

Article I. defines the name, jurisdiction, and membership of the Order. It declares that the body shall be known as "The General Assembly of the Knights of Labor of America," and shall be composed of representatives, or alternates, chosen by the District Assemblies, each District Assembly being entitled to one representative (or alternate) for the first one thousand members or less, as shown upon the reports for the quarter ending July 1st of each year, and one for each additional one thousand members, or majority fraction. Local Assemblies attached to the General Assembly are also entitled to representation in the latter, under proper regulations. The General Assembly has full and final jurisdiction, and is the highest tribunal of the Order of the Knights of Labor. It alone possesses the power and authority to make, amend, or repeal the fundamental and general laws of the Order; finally to decide all controversies arising in the Order; to issue all charters to State, District, and Local Assemblies, and to issue travelling and transfer cards, and all supplies requiring uniformity; to prohibit the sale of intoxicants at entertainments given by assemblies of the Order. And it can also tax the members of the Order for its maintenance.

Articles IV. and V. classify the officers, their terms of office, and their duties. All elections must be by ballot, unless there be but one candidate. The officers are elected at each annual session of the General Assembly; and their titles correspond almost completely with those

of the Local and District Assemblies, with the exception that the word "General" takes the place of "District," as "General Master Workman," "General Worthy Foreman."

Article VI. provides for the revenues of the General Assembly, and declares that it shall be derived as follows: For charters for District Assemblies, \$10; for charter and supplies for Local Assemblies, \$16; for charter and supplies for a Local Assembly composed wholly of women, \$11; and the same for a charter upon the reorganization of a lapsed Local. Various fees are also provided for other services, as for duplicates. In addition to these revenues, each Local Assembly shall pay direct to the General Treasurer six cents per quarter for each member in good standing upon the books upon the first days of January, April, July, and October of each year.

Article VIII. provides for a co-operative fund, the uses of which are defined in Article XVII., the grand object of the Order being to introduce the principles of co-operation in all directions, not only in their own work and obligations, but in productive and distributive enterprises. The views of the Order in this respect are well illustrated by the fact that no officer gives bonds, the Knights considering that their Treasurer is their Treasurer, responsible to them and they responsible for him. As, for instance, should the General Treasurer embezzle \$100,000 of the funds of the Order, and the Order consists of one million members, each member is bondsman in the sum of ten cents. This works no hardship to any one; while, under the old competitive system, some bondsman or a few bondsmen would be obliged to pay the \$100,000, that the one million might save ten cents each. Such practice the Knights regard as rank injustice. Their practice in this respect is in direct accordance with their motto,—"That is the most perfect government in which an injury to one is the concern of all."

Article XV. establishes an "Assistance Fund," and requires that each Local Assembly shall set apart for the purposes of this fund the sum of five cents per month for every member in good standing. In this article occurs a section as follows: "No strike shall be declared or entered into by any member or members of any Local Assembly without the sanction of the District or Local Assembly, as the case may be." This section, with the one given from the constitution of the District Assembly, stands as the only constitutional declaration of the Knights of Labor relative to strikes. At the special session, held at Cleveland in May, 1886, a temporary rule was established, indicated by the following report of a committee to whom were referred proposed amendments relative to strikes:—

That before a strike is ordered or entered upon by any Local Assembly attached to the General Assembly, or any Trade Assembly, District Assembly, or State Assembly, a secret ballot shall be taken of all the members in good standing composing the same; and in no case shall a strike be ordered or entered upon without two-thirds of the votes cast are in favor of the strike; and that a secret ballot shall be taken during the strike whenever the General Assembly, Trade Assembly, District Assembly, or State Assembly Executive Board shall order; and, should the number voting in favor of continuing fall below a majority, the best possible terms shall be sought, and the strike declared off.

That no strike shall be entered upon or sanctioned by any Local, Trade, District, or State Assembly, when aid, financial or otherwise, may be required from outside such Assembly, until the General Executive Board shall have been represented by one or more of its members, or assistants, in an effort to settle the pending difficulty by arbitration, and then only by order of the General Executive Board.

Any strike entered upon without such order by the General Executive Board shall receive no assistance, financial or otherwise, from the Order outside of such Assembly; nor shall any appeal to the Order for such aid be permitted.

Representative Foster, of Massachusetts, amended by adding "when over ten members are affected by the strike."

Representative Buchanan, of Colorado, further amended, which

was accepted by Representative Foster: "when over twenty-five persons are obliged to quit work on account of the strike." So ordered. The original motion, as amended, was then adopted.

Whatever force there was in this change, it fell with the meeting of the Richmond Convention, so that now the law of the Order stands as stated.

From the formation of the General Assembly in 1878 up to 1883 there was a strong element in the Order in favor of supporting strikes, and strike-funds were raised by a tax on the members. Meanwhile, the more advanced thinkers in the Order, led by Mr. Powderly, were trying to educate the members to use other means for the settlement of labor difficulties, and so far succeeded that at the Cincinnati session, in 1883, the strike-laws were made so rigid that they practically amounted to a prohibition of strikes, so far as the support of the Order was concerned. The laws now in force do not permit the support of a strike by the whole Order. A lock-out, where members are refused employment simply because they are members, can be supported. A Local or District Assembly may order a local strike. If called upon, the General Executive Board may endeavor to effect a settlement; or, if the strike threatens to involve the interests of the whole Order, then the Executive Board may step in and take charge, to protect the Order. The Executive Board does not of its own accord interfere until the strike or boycott threatens to work injury to the whole Order.

Article XVI. provides for a Benefit Insurance Association of the Knights of Labor of America. It is not compulsory upon members to contribute to this association. The management of its affairs are under the control of the proper officers, represented by the Insurance Secretary, the Insurance Association having its own board of officers.

The salaries of officers until the meeting of the General Assembly at Richmond, in October last, were meagre indeed, in comparison with the duties performed, the Gen-

eral Master Workman receiving but \$1,500 a year and his necessary travelling expenses. He now receives \$5,000 per annum. The officers have been changed somewhat, the present general officers being as follows: General Master Workman, T. V. Powderly; General Foreman, Richard Griffiths; General Secretary, Charles H. Litchman; General Treasurer, Frederick Turner.

The literature of the Order has not as yet been extensive. The Journal of United Labor is the official organ of the Order. The first number of this journal was issued May 15, 1880, under the direction of Mr. Charles H. Litchman, then General Secretary, and was published monthly. Since 1884, it has been issued semi-monthly at Philadelphia. It is an interesting publication, and the files have been generously placed at my disposal. With the vast constituency of the Knights of Labor behind it, it has a support which brings it success.

The real growth of the Order may be said to date from the Detroit session in 1881, when the strict secrecy of the Order was abolished, and it was declared that its name and objects should henceforth be made public. The Richmond Convention may be looked upon as marking an epoch in the history of the Order, although the results of this congress are not yet fully developed. It did much, both in an affirmative and in a negative way. The conservative force of Mr. Powderly was retained by his almost unanimous re-election. Mr. Powderly, himself an ardent Catholic, shields the Order by his own membership from the antagonism of his Church to all secret societies.

Resolutions looking to the elevation of the Order, as well as resolutions defining principles and objects, were much discussed at Richmond, but without resulting in legislation or any constitutional change. A warm discussion also took place over the following resolutions, which were finally adopted:—

That this General Assembly appeals for mercy for the seven men at Chicago to be executed.

That, while we ask for mercy for the condemned men, we are not in sympathy with the acts of the Anarchists, nor any attempts of individuals or associated bodies that teach or practise violent infractions of the law, believing that peaceful methods are the surest and best means to secure the necessary reform.

Whether this great Order is to be hereafter a factor for good or for evil, depends upon the wisdom, not alone of its leaders, but of that vast army of workers constituting its rank and file. It stands to-day as an organization representing the opposite of the trades-union, and is bending all its energies to preserve the broad principle of the harmonious interworking of all interests, as against the trades-union idea, which comes closer to human nature, of the preservation of individual interests. Which idea will survive and become the leading fundamental element of the future great labor organizations is the problem. Whichever it may be, the prayer of every patriotic citizen is that the organization based upon the surviving idea shall work for the cause of humanity, for the preservation of order and the recognition of the law. Certain it is that neither the trades-unions nor the Knights of Labor call upon their members for any obligation or pledge interfering with their duties as citizens. They know that they must stand on the principle that a man must be a citizen first, and a good, law-abiding citizen, before he can be a faithful member of any organization within society.

#### CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

(Note.— The discussion of the principles and practices of the Knights of Labor, the analysis of such principles, and the expression of opinions thereon are not within the scope of this paper, the object being simply to state with accuracy the leading historical events connected with the Order. In making this statement, I have had the assistance of past officers and worthy members of the Order, and to them the paper in its completed form has been submitted, and by them pronounced true in all its statements of fact.— c. p. w.)